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U. S. Department of Justice

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FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

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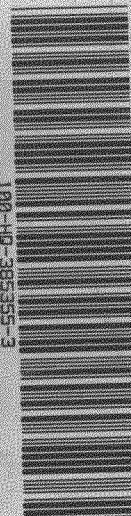
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HQ-385355

Sec. 3

Serials 59-

100-HQ-385355-3



MADE UP

SECTION 3
SERIALS 59 -

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: May 28 1958

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Tax Exempt Foundations
Information Concerning

Reference is made to your memorandum to this Division, dated April 16, 1958, captioned as above, and attaching an account of an interview dated April 7, 1958 with Mr. Norman Dodd conducted by the Bureau in New York City.

On page 3 of the attachment it is noted that Mr. Dodd stated that the American Historical Association was the recipient of grants from several major foundations in the late 1920's for the purpose of conducting a survey of what had transpired in American history. The memorandum further reflects in the same paragraph that Mr. Dodd made certain statements to the effect that the last volume of this survey indicated that the United States should be prepared for a collective society in the future. It is requested that you advise this Division if Mr. Dodd made available or if the Bureau has other information indicating the names of the grantor foundations and the name of the person or persons who conducted and compiled this survey.

It is also requested that, if available, this Division be furnished a copy of the last volume of this survey. It is also requested that the Bureau advise if Mr. Dodd identified the investigator referred to on page 2 of the attachment.

Relative to your reference to the American Council of Learned Societies, it is requested that, if available, this Division be furnished with any information it may have on this organization subsequent to that information reflected in the report of Special Agent William O. Cregar, dated July 16, 1954, at Washington, D. C. and captioned, "American Council of Learned Societies".

It is noted that on page 4 of the referenced attachment that Mr. Dodd said that during the course of the investigation by the Reece Committee, he met with several of the executives in the upper echelon of the Ford Foundation. They told him that while they were in Government service during World War II they worked under directives which indicated a hope for a re-orientation of

ENCLOSURE

EX-139

20 MAY 28 1958

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life in the United States in order to eventually merge with the Soviet Union. It is requested that this Division be advised as to whether Mr. Dodd made available the names of these executives. It is further requested that the Bureau advise if it has additional information concerning the existence and nature of such directives.



100-385355-59

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Special Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations

SPEECH

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 20, 1954

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped to avoid the necessity of making these remarks concerning the work of the Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, but recent events which, while not materially affecting the work of this committee, have been damaging to the entire principle of congressional investigations have left me no choice.

In my years of service in the Congress, I have never observed a better organized smear campaign against a congressional committee nor such wanton distortion of the facts by the public press. The editorials and articles appearing concurrently in the Daily Worker, the New York Times and Herald Tribune attacking the committee and its work would appear to be more than a coincidence.

Let me go back to the beginning of the work of this committee. As a member of the Cox committee, the predecessor of this committee, I had observed three bodies of evidence which seemed to me of great importance: The first pointed to Communist or Communist sympathizer infiltration into the foundations; the second pointed to a much broader condition, namely, foundation support of Fabian socialism in America; and the third pointed to the financial aspect of the foundations.

There are presently some 7,000 foundations with assets in excess of \$10 billion and with an annual income in excess of \$300 million.

Less than a dozen of these foundations are widely known to the public.

There is much to indicate that the thousands of foundations unknown to

the public are set up generally to avoid payment of taxes.

The number of foundations is rapidly increasing each year. They now have tremendous resources, which largely are taken out of our taxable income.

The tax-exempt foundations in America—big and little—are becoming a major concern.

Fabian socialism is not communism; it is a technique of nonviolent revolution by the consent of a duped, propagandized population.

It is the technique that brought socialism to Great Britain.

In the United States Fabian socialism has taken the name "New Deal" and "Fair Deal."

Of this there can be no doubt.

Norman Thomas, the long-time head of the Socialist Party in the United States, has publicly admitted that the New Deal almost put the Socialist Party out of business by taking all of the principal planks from its platform.

Parenthetically, I want to say a brief word to those Americans who approve of the New Deal-Fair Deal-Fabian revolution, and therefore might call this investigation a tempest in a teapot.

It is their privilege to do so, but it is my privilege to oppose this overt subversion of traditional American ideals.

I have fought it for 20 years during its steady progress, and as long as I continue to serve the public I will continue to fight it.

Although the Cox committee was not looking for Fabian socialism, the evidence presented before it disclosed to me what might be an important clue to the location of the nerve center of subversion in America—the left-wing intellectuals, whose prestige and influence seemed to be the product of the tax-exempt foundation grants.

I therefore suggested to the Congress that the investigation be extended.

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In doing so, I realized that if my suspicions were true all of the enormous power and prestige of the foundations, and to some extent that of the corporations from which they sprang, would be pitted against the committee.

If I were wrong, the investigation would cause no more excitement than did the Cox committee investigation.

I also realized that if my surmise concerning Fabian socialism was correct, every left-wing group that is participating in or benefiting from the intellectual revolution would join in the attack on the committee.

I also realized that the left-wing press and the pseudoconservative press would be under terrific pressure from these intellectuals and organizations to discredit the committee and distort the facts concerning its work.

What I did not realize was that this influence would reach even into the conservative press.

And from what has happened in the last month, it is obvious that the large foundations are trying to make certain that never again will a mere committee of the Congress have the temerity to look into their social and political science activities and into their financial power.

Let me review the method adopted by the committee.

After discussing with the staff the best and fairest method of approaching this inquiry, we decided to inform the foundations in advance of the main lines of investigation.

To me, this offered the foundations a tremendous advantage, knowing in advance the area of the inquiry.

But this step was violently attacked as prejudgment of the case, in spite of the fact that when the outline was presented by Mr. Dodd, the committee's director of research, he stated, and I quote:

As this report will hereafter contain many statements which appear to be conclusive, I emphasize here that each of them must be understood to have resulted from studies which were essentially exploratory; in no sense should they be considered proved.

As the hearings got under way, it became very obvious that the ranking minority member of the committee had no intention of permitting orderly hearings and was determined to discredit and harass the investigation.

Throughout the hearings Mr. HAYS assumed an attitude of aggressive suspicion and insulting distrust of the major-

ity members of the committee and of the committee staff.

He could not have made it clearer that he intended to frustrate to the limit of his abilities any orderly procedure.

It is interesting to note that Mr. HAYS, the minority member in question, is representative of the political group that has benefited most from the intellectual revolution that has taken place in America, and it seems probable to me that his rude, unreasoning, and ruthless attitude during the foundation hearings is one of defending an important source of New Deal strength in America.

I do not know whether one of Mr. HAYS' objectives was to force the discontinuance of the public hearings, but at least he was successful in making that decision necessary.

I would like to take a moment to describe to you the tactics of Mr. HAYS that eventually forced this action.

In his role of a skillful provocateur, he interrupted witnesses beyond all reason, attempting to frighten witnesses and to disorganize both their initial presentations and orderly interrogation by others.

During one of the 3-hour sessions, Mr. HAYS interrupted one witness 246 times.

During the public hearings he indulged in intemperate attacks upon the staff and upon the majority members of the committee.

He accused the chairman of lying and being a coward and accused Mr. Goodwin of duplicity and cowardice.

As an example of the Marxian technique of attacking a messenger when the message cannot be attacked, he cast aspersions upon the character and record of a distinguished Catholic nun, the daughter of Senator McCARRAN, whose scholarly work on Fabian socialism in Great Britain had been placed in evidence.

As further examples, Mr. HAYS characterized an outstanding group of American scholars appearing as committee witnesses as "crackpots," "dredged up" by the committee.

As was written to the chairman of the committee by the eminent Prof. Kenneth Colgrove, subsequent to his appearance before the committee, Mr. HAYS created, and I quote:

A fear among competent persons who might otherwise question the omniscience of the directors of those foundations. Wit-

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nesses are thereby warned that no matter how objective their testimony, no matter how legitimate their questions, their character would be smeared and their testimony ridiculed.

In spite of the sniping by Mr. HAYS Professor Colgrove was able, on a piecemeal basis, to get a very valuable body of evidence into the record concerning the deplorable lack of science contained in so many of the foundations' social science projects.

Actually, a great deal of so-called social science, as carried on with foundation funds, is little more than an elaborate argument that Government can take better care of the people than the people can take care of themselves.

Prof. A. H. Hobbs was criticized for his attack upon the Kinsey report, which initially was a foundation project.

Actually, anyone who had taken the time to examine this highly questionable statistical study cannot help but agree with Professor Hobbs, even if only for one reason, namely, that it makes a laughing stock of morality and reduces human love to the animal level.

In his letter to the chairman, Professor Colegrove also states:

Obviously, no self-respecting scholar would care to testify before such a committee under such circumstances.

When the truth is known concerning the work of this committee, a large section of the American press which printed virtually none of the competent and pertinent testimony presented to the committee and has printed practically all of Mr. HAYS' tidbits of character assassination and so-called witty barbs, will be faced with an embarrassing situation.

It seems to me that a suitable subject for congressional investigation would be the source and nature of the pressure which is behind the terrific attack upon the committee by three large papers, in addition to the Daily Worker—the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post and Times Herald.

The promptness and uniformity with which a large section of the press has attacked the committee's decision to discontinue the public hearings on the false ground that the foundations would thereby be deprived of a chance to defend themselves, indicates the thoroughness of the plans and press coverage behind Mr. HAYS' effort to frustrate the hearings.

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Regarding the cry of injustice resulting from the discontinuance of the public hearings, let me point out that it is only common sense to conclude that no action could have been more favorable to the foundations because they were thereby given an opportunity to speak in their own defense and completely avoid having to substantiate their claims through cross-examination.

Some of the foundation answers have not yet been received, but thus far there has been very little to refute the basic suspicion that caused me to suggest this investigation, namely, that the large foundations have supplied the bulk of the money that has been used to lay the intellectual base for and perpetuate the prestige of the New Deal.

In fact, one of the briefs filed by the Carnegie group states that one of their projects which had been criticized as being socialistic, namely, the report of the Commission on Social Studies by the American Historical Association, was not socialistic.

Here are the exact words used by Mr. Charles Dollard, president of the Carnegie Corp. of New York, in refuting that charge.

I quote:

The worst that can be said is that the authors not only reported this trend but appeared to accept it cheerfully. What they were accepting was not socialism—it was the New Deal.

I believe that special attention should be given to the foundations' charge that the discontinuance of the hearings will deprive them of proper publicity for their filed statements.

A good example of the degree to which they will be penalized is found in a single issue of a single newspaper—the New York Times of July 25—published the day after the Ford Foundation released its statement attacking the committee.

In that 1 issue there were 3 completely favorable stories regarding the Ford Foundation, totaling approximately 4,000 words, that went into more than a million American homes.

One of the articles was a front-page feature carried over to the pages adjacent to the other two articles.

Nothing could have been planned more meticulously.

This was their own story and contained many derogatory statements which would have had to have been cor-

robored had the Ford Foundation been subjected to the normal procedure of cross-examination.

Every citizen who read the New York Times July 25—Sunday—was completely assured of the purity of the Ford Foundation.

It will be interesting to see how many words of these remarks are carried by the same paper.

In spite of the fact that through this superb public relations smear campaign in an effort to exonerate the tax-exempt foundations of all blame, even before the committee report has been prepared, I am determined that the committee work shall proceed normally, that an adequate public record shall be developed, and that a fair, objective report of findings will be rendered.

This is the task to which I have set myself and this is the task which I propose to finish, regardless of the forces attempting to stifle and discredit, the investigatory powers of this legislative body.

If I have seemed to have been silent under this abuse for too long a time, it is because I am confident that in the end the truth will prevail.

In summing up, I would like to speak with more bluntness than is my usual custom. This committee has been subjected to various and strange pressures and harassments. It began to be reviled

from many directions very early in its career.

A steady procession of condemnatory resolutions emanating from a puzzling assortment of organizations have followed its work. As I mentioned before, several of the major newspapers—notably the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post and Times Herald—have joined with the Daily Worker in a steady, constant, almost daily campaign of savage attacks, both in editorials and what purported to be news reports.

These savage attacks have been of a nature so venomous and untruthful as to eliminate any explanation but one.

The attitude of the committee and of its staff and the occurrences at the hearings have been deliberately misrepresented to the public with such obviously intended malice that no explanation seems rational but that the power of some of the major foundations and their sycophants is truly great.

It has been said that the foundations are a power second only to that of the Federal Government itself. Perhaps this statement should be modified because it seems to have become an affront for a congressional committee to dare to subject foundations to criticism. Perhaps the Congress now should admit that the foundations have become more powerful, in some areas at least, than the legislative branch of the Government.

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Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Director, FBI

REC-83

EX-139

100-385355-59
TAX EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

Reference is made to the memorandum from the
Internal Security Division dated May 28, 1958.

The following information is set forth in answer
to the request contained in referenced memorandum:

1. Norman Dodd, during the interview conducted by Special Agents of the New York Office on April 1, 1958, did not furnish the names of the grantor foundations or the names of the persons who conducted and compiled the survey concerning American history made by the American Historical Association. This Bureau is not in possession of a copy of this survey. However, a check of Bureau files reflects that this survey may be identical with the "Report of the Commission on Social Studies" which was published in several volumes, commencing in 1932, by the American Historical Association. In a speech in the House of Representatives on August 20, 1954, concerning the "Special Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations," Congressman B. Carroll Reece referred to this report indicating that it was one of the projects of the Carnegie Foundation. A Photostat of a reprint from the "Congressional Record" of Reece's speech is enclosed. (100-385355-33)

The report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) "Hearings Before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session, on H.Res. 282," Volume 4, issued in 1939, contains the testimony of George Edward Sullivan, described as a Washington, D. C., lawyer and antisubversive writer. During his testimony Sullivan referred to the "Report of the Commission on Social Studies" of the American Historical Association and stated that Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Dr. Frank W. Ballou, superintendent of schools, Washington, D. C., served on the commission which prepared the aforementioned report. Sullivan's testimony in this regard appears on page 3044 of the HCUA's report. (61-7582, "Dies Committee Report, Volume 4")

100-385355

1 - 94-1 Sub 14850 (Carnegie Foundation)

See note on yellow, page 3.

37 JUN 11 1958

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Report, Volume 4")

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Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

2. The "investigator" referred to on page two of the enclosure to my memorandum dated April 16, 1958, is Miss Kathryn Casey. The results of the interview with Miss Casey were furnished the Department by my memorandum dated May 9, 1958.
3. Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning the American Council of Learned Societies other than that contained in the report of Special Agent William O. Cregar dated July 16, 1954, at Washington, D. C., which report was referred to in referenced memorandum.

For your information there is enclosed a Photostat of an article entitled "Foundations Probe Blasted as 'Fantasy,'" which appeared in the July 22, 1954, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald," in which the American Council of Learned Societies branded as fantasy the suggestions that it is "engaged in some kind of conspiracy with the foundations."

4. Dodd, during the course of the April 1, 1958, interview, did not furnish the names of the executives of the Ford Foundation who told him that while they were in Government service during World War II they worked under directives which indicated a hope for a reorientation of life in the United States in order to eventually merge with the Soviet Union. In this connection it is noted that the January 15, 1958, "Economic Council Letter," issued by the National Economic Council, Inc., contained an article by Norman Dodd entitled "Who Finances Socialism and Communism?" In this article Dodd makes a similar statement; however, it is at variance with the one set forth above in that Dodd claims the officers of one of our major foundations stated that during and after World War II "the majority of its officers had worked with the Office of Strategic Services, the State Department and the European Economic Administration—under directives which called for an alteration of the social structure of the United States so as to make co-existence with the Soviet Union possible." A Photostat of this article is enclosed.

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

The underscoring and marginal markings appearing on page two appeared thereon at the time the original of the Photostat was received by this Bureau and the identity of the individual who made such markings is unknown. The files of this Bureau contain no information concerning the existence and nature of the above directives. (100-385355, Unrecorded serial, cc of NY airtel 1-27-58 captioned "[redacted]")

This concludes the data requested by referenced Departmental memorandum.

Enclosures (3)

FOIA(b) (7) - (D)

NOTE:

In January, 1955, [redacted] reported he was contacted by Dodd, former research director for the Special Committee for the House of Representatives to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, commonly known as the Reece Committee. Dodd advised the source he could write a paper based on the testimony and records of the hearings which would expose the fact that the directors of the Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations feel their projects should be directed toward fostering a liberal type of communism. This information was furnished Deputy Attorney General by Bureau memo 1-21-58. Department on 3-12-58 requested we discreetly determine validity of Dodd's allegations. New York Office interviewed Dodd 4-1-58 and results furnished Department 4-16-58. Washington Field Office interviewed Kathryn Casey 4-24-58 and results furnished Department 5-9-58. Attached memorandum sets out data concerning requests in Department memorandum 5-28-58. No further action or investigation remains. In view of the fact we are not conducting an investigation concerning captioned matter, the nonspecific nature of the information furnished by Dodd, and the variance between statements made to the interviewing Agents with those contained in Dodd's publications, it is believed we should not reinterview Dodd at this time.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 26, 1960

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: **FUNDS AND FOUNDATIONS IN RESEARCH INSTITUTES
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)**

Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

On Friday night, January 22, 1960, while having dinner with Dr. Frank Barnett, director of research, Richardson Foundation, Rhodes scholar and official of the Institute for American Strategy, there was discussed, among other things, the influence of funds and foundations and research institutions on national policy.

Dr. Barnett stated that in his opinion funds and foundations and research institutes are steadily growing more important relative to the impact which they have not only on national policy matters but also on the thinking of the average citizen. Frequently, said Dr. Barnett, these groups create and color issues which are later carried by the American press with its influence over the ordinary citizen. What is not generally known, said Dr. Barnett, is that funds and foundations with increasing frequency are the moving forces behind bills introduced in Congress.

Dr. Barnett mentioned two pressure groups directed toward Congress, one being the Foreign Policy Association and the other the American Association of the United Nations. He said they are well financed and the first named Association spends about one million dollars a year on lobbying.

Dr. Barnett stated in his opinion Donald Young of the Russell Sage Foundation is definitely a bad influence from the standpoint of national defense matters. Dr. Barnett further stated that the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) initially received its money from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and did that Agency's research work. He added that this Center at MIT has had from the beginning a Fabian Socialist orientation with Dr. Rostow and others like him being the dominating force at this Center. Dr. Barnett said that while the well-known Brookings Institute is not "leftist," it has no sense of urgency concerning the present world situation and the men there just do not believe that the threat posed by world communism is as dangerous or as important as our national leaders would have them believe. This Institute, said Dr. Barnett, recently received five million dollars from the Ford Foundation.

WCS:aml

(8) *Am*

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Frohbose
- 1 - M.A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Parsons

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REC-75

23 FEB 26 1960

EX-135

RESEARCH
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Tax Exempt Foundations

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-7802-105-1971-62-80750-100-353130-

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Funds and Foundations in Research Institutes

He thinks the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington is doing good work under Professor George Taylor. He is familiar with the reorganization of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and believes it to have very great potential for good in the research field. He also thinks the Rand Corporation has done good work for the U.S. Air Force. The Harvard Center of International Studies, said Dr. Barnett, sees eye to eye with Robert Amory of CIA, but there is one man at the Harvard Center who is strongly opposed to Amory and his views and that is a Professor Kissinger (phonetic).

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

JB

P

V.

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1/27*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. MC GUIRE

DATE: FEB 16 1960

FROM : L. E. SMITH

SUBJECT: USE OF BENEVOLENT TRUST FUNDS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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Bulky Exhibit File Number: 100-385355-12

We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. The memorandum should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1113, Identification Building, for filing in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.

J. W. MARSHALL

NOT RECORDED

24 FEB 17 1960

52 FEB 18 1960

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 4-27-64

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 8683-8684. Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, submitted four resolutions adopted by the South Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution at their convention in Columbia on April 4, 1964. These resolutions included one to memorialize the South Carolina representatives in the U. S. Congress to determine whether the activities of certain tax-exempt charitable, religious, or educational organizations violate existing laws. This resolution states "Whereas SNICK has engaged in 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta and in the words of the Atlanta Journal, February 2, 1963, 'The tax-exempt Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two * * * who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee as Communist Party members.' - - -"

Committee to InvestigativeTAX EXEMPT Foundations 1 100-385355-

NOT RECORDED

176 MAY 14 1964

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *Friday 4-24-64* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

72 MAY 21 1964 F28

Original filed in: 66-1731-2521

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. *Tavel*

FROM : J. W. *Marshall*

SUBJECT: *0* USE OF BENEVOLENT TRUSTS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: *1-8-71*

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Bulky Exhibit File Number: 100-385355-12

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We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. The memorandum should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1116, Identification Building, for filing in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.

OTB: *STh*

☐ Retain ☒ Destroy ☐ Other Disposition _____

Reason for Decision

Material is 18 years old and no possible use for prosecution stream.

Signature of Reviewing Supervisor

Robert C. Putnam

Destroyed 1/14/70. feh.

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78 JAN 15 1971

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